The house

/122 cont./

356 is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) con-
824 sisting of shrubs of the pšáhga plant. This plant at the same
[825] time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 All around the house and surrounding it at some distance
417 either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep,
[231] within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept.
In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo
[137] no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the
[313] natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp.274 and 268/).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths
264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed
[412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

●291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191,
[302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with stamps,

/123 cont./

291 177 stamps. Soon after the Conquista they adopted the upper garment and the straw hat still worn today.

The clothing of the men consists of the upper garment, linen trousers, the cloak (called "poncho" in Peru, "ruana" in Colombia /see the glossary, p. 250 /) and the waterproof, plaited straw hat. The upper garment and the ruana are woven by the women out of sheep wool, whereas the linen trousers are made by the men themselves out of purchased fabrics. This is noteworthy culture-historically, for cutting clothing from woven fabrics was unknown to the South American Indians in pre-Colombian times, since fabrics were not woven "by the meter" to be sewed later into clothing as desired; rather, the shape of the subsequent article of clothing was already taken into consideration at the start of the weaving. It follows from the method of manufacture that torn fabrics are never repaired by the women with a ready-made patch, but are always darned in imitation of the texture of the cloth. It is different for men's trousers, the materials of which are bought by the men and sewed by them themselves, never by the women. Once these -- as well as the purchased shirts -- are torn, they are never darned, but always repaired by the men by means of a patch sewed underneath. Thus, we have here the fixed rule that woven clothing is never-patched, but is darned, whereas the sewed clothing is never darned, but is always patched. The former is women's work, the latter men's work.

291 [462] 291 294 286 177 [462] 296 [462] 296 177 462

The garment covering the upper body of the men (tondatc; for lack of an appropriate European designation it is called upper garment in the following) is not a sleeveless shirt, since the sides are not sewed together, but are open. It is quite simply a rectangular woven piece of wool about 60 centimeters wide and 160 centimeters long, whose warp threads run lengthwise. A slit about 30 centimeters long is left open in the center for the neck. It is pulled on over the head, and the lower ends are either stuffed into the trousers or left hanging over them. In the latter case they must be secured with a strap tied over them (Ills. 154 /see p. 268/, 165, 166 /see p. 273/, 171 /see p. 276 /, 202 /see p. 289 /, 203 /see p. 290/).

291

291 The men's trousers (calsón) have no pockets. On the aver-
294 age they reach to the calves. Generally they are very carefully sewed, either with purchased thread or with homemade, very fine yarn made of agave threads. In making them, as well as in the case of necessary repair work, all the edges are very carefully bound.

The men's ruana (atc) is generally square, with a side edge of 100 to 160 centimeters. It is sewed together out of two equally wide, rectangular panels, with a slit about 20 centimeters long left open in the center as a neck opening. Because of its square shape the ruana may be worn just as well with the neck-opening crosswise.

285 Whereas shoes or sandals are not used by the Paez, men,
462 women, and children wear the same type of straw hats (śwá).
293 These are plaited, however, only by the men and boys. The
415 dress of both sexes is completed by two or three of the colored
291 woolen coca bags, in which, on journeys, the necessary personal articles are also carried.

291 The garments of the women's clothing consist of wool and
294 are woven by the women themselves. In general the quality and
286 fineness of the women's fabrics are significantly greater than that of the men's woven fabrics. The boys' and young men's fabrics are generally the coarsest, woven with a rather thick spun thread. Decorative strips of a different color within the fabric are found chiefly in the women's clothing, but not infrequently also in that of the men, especially in the ruanas. The absolutely necessary basic clothing of the women consists of skirt and upper garment. Both are worn in such a way that the warp threads run crosswise. The skirt (atytól) is a very wide, tubular garment, whose diameter may amount to 150 centimeters and more, with a length (in the weaving state this corresponds to the width!) of about 80 centimeters. It is worn in such a way that the front part is tight, while the back side falls in numerous folds. It is fastened at the height of the hips with a woman's colored belt, and its upper edge is folded down somewhat over the belt.

/124 cont./

291 The upper garment (ipotsatc) is a simple, rectangular piece of cloth about 160 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide, which, when being put on, is held crosswise so that the warp and ornamental threads run crosswise. When it is on, it covers only the bosom, back, and one side, whereas the other one remains more or less free (Ills. 166 /see p. 273/ and 178 /see p.279 /). In use it is put on from one side of the body over the bosom to the other side, and then led across the back to the original side again. The back /125/ part is now pulled up and fastened over both shoulders to the bosom part with a thorn (tópo) or a safety pin. The part that hangs down is tucked into the skirt. In general the women try to buy colored, usually red blouses in the market for festival days, and these then replace the old, simple cloth. The skirts, however, are not exchanged for other clothing, because the purchased fabrics are not nearly as durable and also do not have the necessary width.

Outside the house the women usually wear a shawl over the ipotsatc; they either weave one (senyatc) for themselves or [854] purchase it (panyelõn). In any case it is necessary for carrying babies, for they are wrapped in it and secured with the colored belt (táw) (Ills. 152 /see p. 267 /, 166 /see p. 273 /, 178 /see p. 279/, 183 /see p. 282 /).

292 There is no special, original ceremonial dress or any special clothing for dignitaries. The latter carry, as their only [293] distinguishing mark, the chonta staff introduced to them by the [177] Spaniards. For festivals and ceremonies people try to wear either items of European clothing or a new outfit of the customary garments. For a Christian burial it is the duty of the members of [764] the family to bury the deceased in the clothing of white Colombians. [177]

291 Small children usually run around naked or have a scrap of cloth hung over them in the style of the ruana. Larger boys wear either a large ruana reaching to the upper thighs, which is held together by a belt, or they already wear trousers. Smaller girls are usually dressed in a piece of cloth reaching from the upper body down over the knees, which is drawn over one shoulder. Older girls wear the clothing of the women. No distinction is

/125 cont./
291 made between the clothing of the married and the unmarried.

302 The men's hair is cut "semilong" with scissors, so that they have a cut midway between bobbed hair and a modern, shaped cut. Women wear their hair long and combed toward the back, to some extent in the form of a part. Older girls and [442] married women plait their hair in braids. Only the modern, purchased combs are used for combing. The men do not groom their beards, which are sparse to begin with, but from youth onward pull out the beard hair with the fingers.

301 No ornaments of any kind are worn by the men nowadays.
439 Two hundred years ago they wore nose rings (zomp) "like the oxen" (Castillo i Orosco, p. 89). The women today wear /126/ purchased pendant-ornaments only to a very slight extent, the white glass-bead chains (wáča = bead) being relatively the most common (Ill. 148 /see p. 265/). The traders are Sibundoy or similar fellow-tribesmen from the southern part of the country, where chains of this kind are worn by the pound by men and women as pendant ornaments. Earrings consist either of a few purchased beads strung on a thread or of a purchased silver pendant. Anyone may wear purchased brass finger-rings; it is not a sign of being married. In earlier times it is possible that there were arm rings, as is shown by Castillo's term kasẽand-gnue-tsa for "arm ring."

3. Economy

433 The first impression that one has of the Paez from an economic standpoint is that of a democratic farming people firmly rooted in their soil, and during an initial consideration of their food and way of life it appears as though they have never been anything but agriculturalists. In the case of primitive peoples, however, we must distinguish between the principal means of production and the original means of production. The former is usually not hard to recognize, whereas the question of the original means of production of a people can be answered

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
● [291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

/193 cont./

585 help. Since the young men almost never own their own cattle, [422] they must earn the purchase price for this by the sale of agricul- [432] tural products. Wheat is usually chosen for this, since it may be [243] harvested half a year after sowing.

For the wedding celebration about 50 men and women are 585 invited, not only relatives, but also friends, among them the 608 sponsors (padrino, madrina) required for the church marriage service. They sit with the bridal couple (nikálo). The parents [291] and guests on both sides arrange themselves informally. The [431] padrino and madrina must give or loan the bridegroom and bride [426] new clothes for this wedding day, but they differ from the ordinary [301] everyday clothing only in that they are newer and cleaner. No 585 special /194/ ornaments of any kind are put on by anyone. The wedding is celebrated in such a way that the church service takes place in the morning, after which the guests go to the wedding house accompanied by music and have a small midday meal, with which, however, only a little chicha is drunk. The festival ox is not yet slaughtered on this day, and not until the "actual" (as the Calderun say) wedding celebration, which takes place about a month later in the house of the bridegroom. The ox is slaughtered in the morning, and in the afternoon the guests arrive, sit down together informally, and eat and drink chicha and brandy copiously. [533] Music is played for this, but no one dances to it. Before the eating [535] begins, when all are still sober, the padrino makes a speech addressed to the bride and groom, in which he says approximately the following: You are now husband and wife, and you, as the husband, should not beat your wife, and you, as wife, should not use any bad words toward your husband. The husband should also not speak ill of his wife, and the wife should obey if the husband commands her to do something and should help him in all things! Then he takes the hand of the bride and gives it to the mother of the bridegroom, who speaks to the bride as follows: You have now been taken into our family and you are to work for your husband and cook his meals for him and make his clothes and arrange everything for him; in addition, you must help me in the house and carry out my instructions, as well as

1: Nachtigall--128 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 · SC15 Paez SC15

/195 cont./

d) Death

761/ 776 165 164 [202] [762] 764 [763] [203] [765] [192] According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits ec̆, tus̆, and gĕlyŏmp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption. Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

The death of a member of the community is passed on from man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small children, people act as though they were glad, since the children are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 184 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[177] ● [290] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased, that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/204 cont./

556 special sociological role within their community, for they are elected neither more frequently nor more rarely to the village offices. They have simply "always" been considered wealthy, though it should be noted that in the language of the Paez there [192] is no word at all for "rich" or "poor." The word used for "poor," "póre," comes from the Spanish (povre), and the word used for "rich," "čačanas," at the same time means "strong" in the physi-
556 cal sense. Despite this apparent unimportance of wealth, how-
626 ever, it is jealously seen to that no other industrious man of a poor family will become rich and possibly put his wealth -- by means of Colombian dress or something similar -- on display. The evil shamans would put a spell on him or poison him, /205/ and the neighbors would devastate his fields by driving their cattle there. He would be cut by everyone, and people in a state of intoxica-
115 tion would start a fight with him in order to kill him. At any
556 rate, this is what happened and is happening to our interpreter,
626 Victoriano. He does not come from a wealthy family, but he wants to acquire money and livestock through diligence and
● [271] ability. From the money he earned among the whites he has
[177] already bought himself the clothing of the whites, which he now proudly displays, and at festivals he sells wax candles and sweets. His fellow-villagers hate him on that account. The priest has had to protect him several times already from the machetes of drunken men who had started a fight with him; and in our presence, too, when we visited various houses with him, he was occasionally very rudely heckled by drunken men. Not least because, in the opinion
115 of the Calderun, he is not working. Again and again I tried to ex-
123 plain to the people that they, too, could "go walking" with me and
556 earn money if they were able to speak Spanish. Since this was
626 not the case, there was nothing else for me to do but always work with Victoriano. Nothing helped: Victoriano became more and more unpopular, and I, too, was regarded as a do-nothing. A
123 drunken man who, instead of the one cigarette he was given, vainly demanded an entire pack as a present abused me, too, as an "alko," a dog, who is always going from house to house and does not work.

/314 cont./

105 The clothing of the men and women covers the upper and lower body. The men's upper garment, called "ruana" in Colombia, "poncho" in Peru, is a sleeveless shirt open at the sides. It is ancient American, known both from the relief of the so-called "sun god" of Tiahuanaco and from a grave of the pre-Spanish [291] period in Arica (northern Chile) (Montell, pp. 173-183). Soon [171] after the Conquista, since the second half of the sixteenth century, this Andean article of clothing, which consists simply of a square piece of cloth with an elongated slit for the head, was distributed throughout the area of the Andean mountain cultures. Its name, "atç," among the Paez, however, has no parallel linguistically. [177] The men's trousers are clearly Spanish. The women's costume is most simple: as an upper garment to a skirt a rectangular piece of cloth is simply put crosswise over their upper bodies.

[241] From an economic point of view, field cultivation is primary. It is carried out by the men in the form of the burned-clearing system with a ten-year clearing cycle. The only field tool is the [433] digging stick. The minimal area of cultivated land for one family is about one hectare. The principal crops are maize and sugar [177] cane. The latter was not introduced until after the Conquista. The Paez word means "sweet." The Paez designation for maize, "kotç," has no parallel with the corresponding words of the Chibcha, Carib, or Aruac /Arawak/ language groups, but with Kechua / /Quechua/, where maize is called "kuts" (Birket-Smith, pp. 22-30). The stimulants are coca and chicha made of sugar-cane juice. Both Paez words, eš and mbéka, respectively, have no parallels in other language groups.

105 241 There are no outstanding festivals indicative of a planter's culture or rites associated with the products of field cultivation, nor does anything indicating an agricultural rhythm of life appear in the myths and religious customs of the Paez. The mythology and ceremonial customs are remnants of a hunter's attitude of mind. It appears as though the Paez did not adopt their primitive agriculture until the time of the Conquista or shortly before, and adopted only the mechanical application of the methods of simple digging-stick farming, without the ceremonial customs associated

1: Nachtigall--265 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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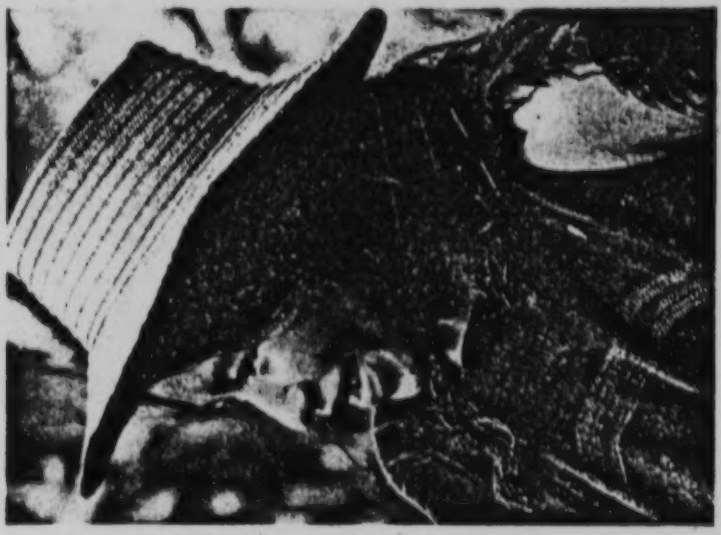

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Ills. 148 and 149. Young women.

1: Nachtigall--266 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ills. 150 and 151. Young men.

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1: Nachtigall--267 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 153. The shaman Cabeleón Ntunda.

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Ill. 152. Mother with child.

1: Nachtigall--268 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 154. House with ladder.

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Ill. 155. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakué.

1: Nachtigall--273 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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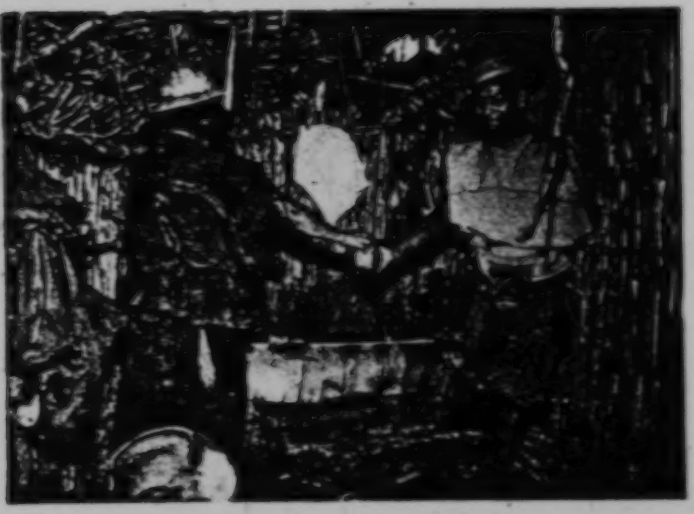

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough.

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Ill. 166. Interior of a Paez house.

1: Nachtigall--277 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 174. Harvesting the coca leaves.

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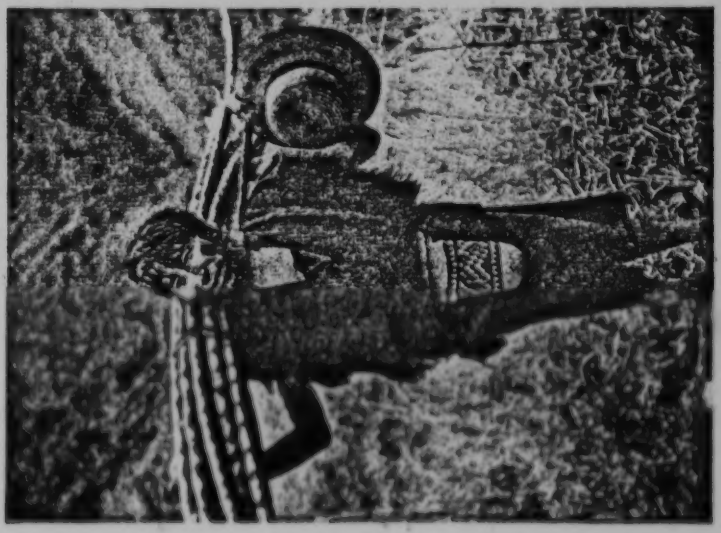
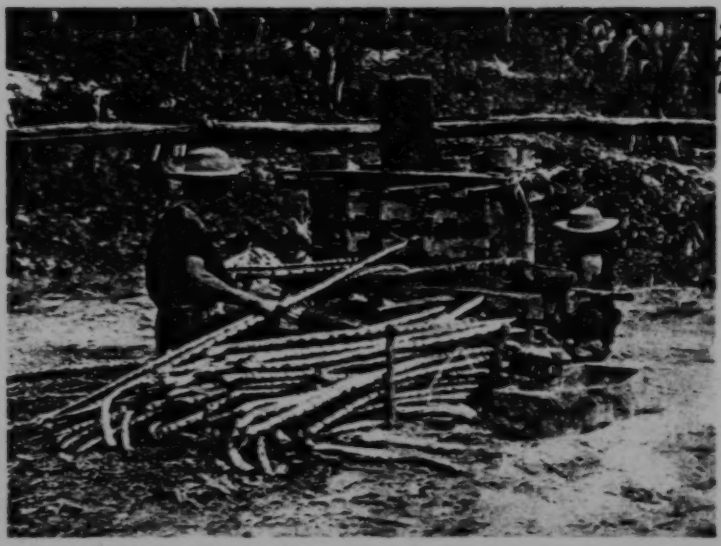


Ill. 173. Paez with sugar cane.

1: Nachtigall--278 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15



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Ill. 175. Sugar mill in operation.

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Ill. 176. Distillation apparatus.

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1: Nachtigall--279 E-5 (1952-1953) 1985 SC15 Paez SC15

Ills. 177 and 178. Woman defleshing agave leaves.

1: Nachtigall--280 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 179. Spinning with the drop spindle.

Ill. 180. Twisting the spun wool thread.

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1: Nachtigall--282 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 184. Smoothing out the seams of a pot.

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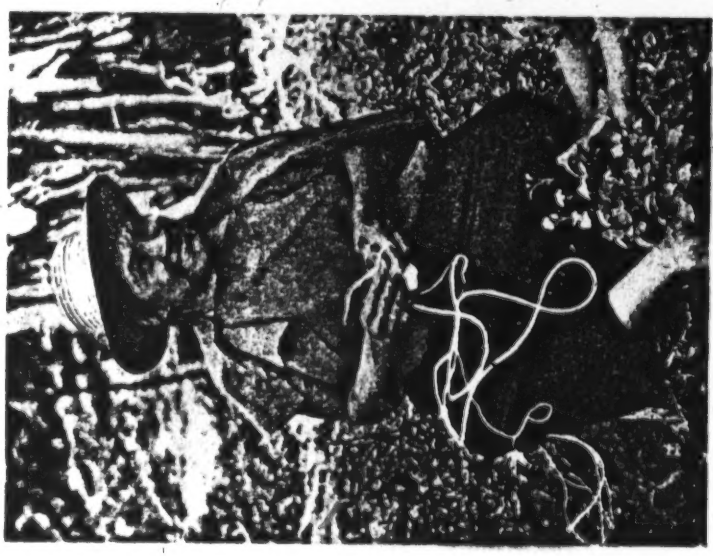

Ill. 183. Making a fiber bag.

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1: Nachtigall--288 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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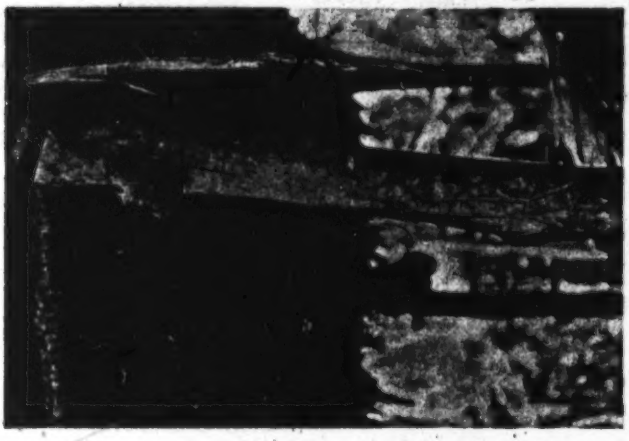

Ill. 200. Skull trophy and figure of a spirit.

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Ill. 199. The shaman Felisia Ipia with her shaman's staff.

1: Nachtigall--289 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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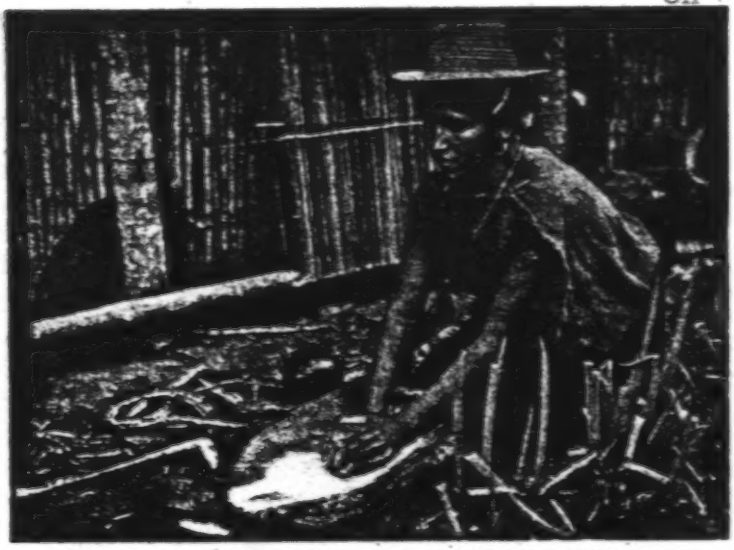

Ill. 201. Grinding maize with the hand-grindstone.

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Ill. 202. Calderun music group.

1: Nachtigall--290 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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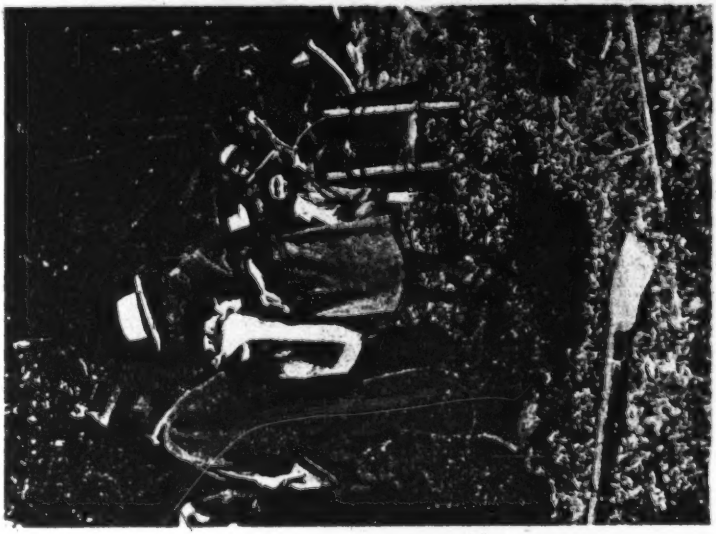

Ill. 204. Burial of a child who died of whooping cough.

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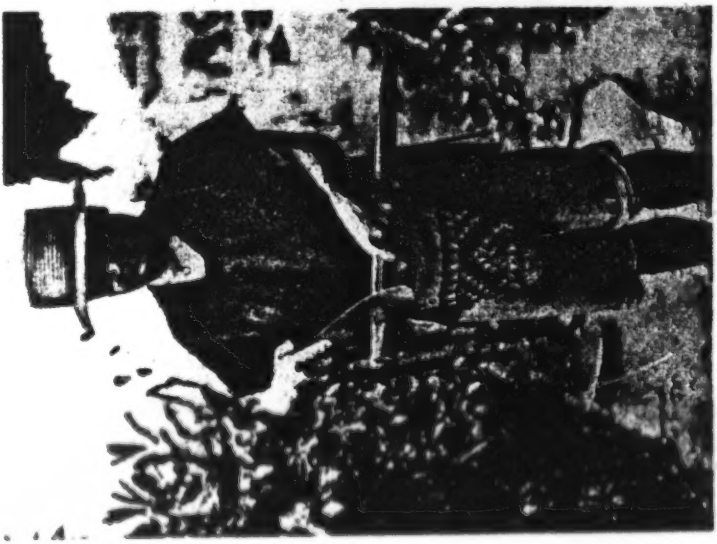

Ill. 203. The flute maker Vicente Puche.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lel*), tumors of several kinds (*lol-sek*, tonsilitis; *koü*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*buzgnè*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*u-tšitš*), dysentery (*mengnè*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gnè* in the ancient dialect, *kuè-kuè-nè* in that spoken at the present day).

Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the clothing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards, but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the Indians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiü*), that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atš*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atš-petš*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atš* they carry on their left side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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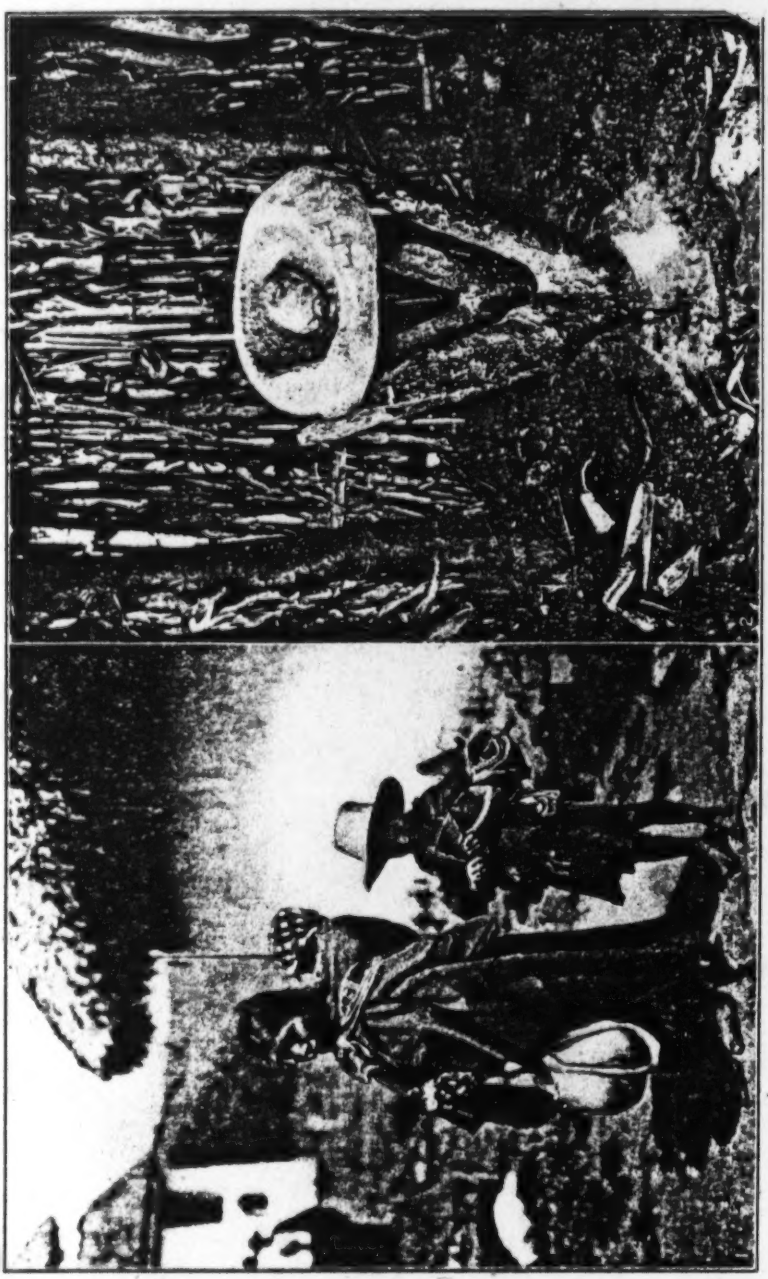

MEMOIRS, I, PL. IV

PAEZ GRINDING STONE

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TRAVELING PAEZ WOMAN AND CHILDREN

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

[facing P.317]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

bag and the small receptacle that contains the quicklime used with the former. When out of doors a second piece of woolen cloth, longer and narrower than the first and called simply *atš*, is thrown over the shoulders, with the head likewise thrust through the middle. A narrow-brimmed hat (*tsua*) the like of which is found among the Kitšua, is the usual complement of this dress. It is made of the outer skin of a tall grass (*Gynerium saccharoides*), resembling sugar-cane and common along rivers.

The women all dress in the same way, with fabrics invariably woven by themselves. The underwear, which is often dispensed with, consists of a narrow piece of woolen tissue used as a loin cloth, passing between the legs and then rolled around the hips. Over this article is worn a broad piece of dark woolen cloth, wrapped along the body and limbs in the form of a skirt. This is the *anaco*, or *pamb-atš*, and it is attached to the waist by means of a sash called *vilia*, the elaborateness and ornamentation of which vary with the wealth of the owner. The upper part of the body is covered with a ruana called *atš-tul*, sewed along the right side and on the right shoulder, but open at the left side, being simply pinned on the left shoulder with a wooden peg or a fish-bone. When traveling the women provide themselves with another broad piece of cloth (*spatš*) which is used either as a cover or for wrapping the baby on the back. In the latter case the cloth is secured by means of a belt (plate IV, 1).

Women also wear necklaces, made now of common glass beads, silver coins, or small sea-shells, the number of strings depending on the wealth of the husband. The mention in Castillo's vocabulary of a word for bracelet (*kaschand-gnuc-tsa*) indicates the former use of such ornament. Females have no headgear. Married women part their hair along the median line of the head and allow it to hang back in two braids. Little girls wear their hair loosely behind the shoulders. In former times women painted their faces blue with the juice of a fruit called *kii*. Speaking of this custom, which seems to be obsolete now, Castillo facetiously says: "fruta . . . con cuyo zumo se pintan el rostro las Indias (*i aun las que no lo son*)." Men formerly decorated their bodies and faces with *tok*, the red color

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

302 extracted from the seeds of *Bixa orellana*, which they applied [304] by means of a cylinder of clay (*kaanda*) on which certain designs were carved. Specimens of such cylinders are often found in graves.

291 515 Children are very scantily clothed. The boys go about naked until they reach their twelfth year, and the little girls wear only a short *at3-tul*. The clothing of the male and female adults seems to be worn as long as it lasts. As is the case with all Indians living at high altitudes, the Paez are not especially fond of bathing, and cleanliness is not a cardinal virtue with them. [513] In retiring for the night, they simply wrap their garments tighter around them, the children using old rags in lieu of blankets.

386 [182] The ornamentation of the *tilia*, or sash, with several brilliant colors and the desire of giving a uniform hue to the darker clothing of the women, gave origin to the art of dyeing, which very likely is to-day in its decline. The dyes were derived chiefly from plants. Black was obtained from *tal*, an arborescent *Phyllanthus* that has a semi-domesticated appearance and forms characteristic thickets around inhabited places, like Vitoncó; the same color is also contained in the young pods of the *huarango* (*Cæsalpinia tinctoria*), a spiny tree often seen near the houses and extensively used at the present time for dyeing wool. The roots of *tuk-nétse*, a Rubiacea (*Relbunium hypocarpium* Hemsl.) akin to the madder, produce a scarlet color. Different kinds of blue dyes were extracted from the fruit of the jagua (*kii*, probably *Genipa* sp.) and from an *Indigofera*. [177] Many other tinctorial plants very likely escaped my observation and are gradually passing out of use on account of the introduction of foreign fabrics.

DWELLINGS

342 The Paeces have permanent houses in their thirty-four villages and temporary abodes on their corn plantations. These latter are merely small huts, the walls of which are more or less elaborate according to the altitude, being made tighter near the upper limit of culture. They represent the primitive type of

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men. Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful. On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at, except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing consists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

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101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
361 Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[166-193] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multicolored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
621 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

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173 fortune: his efforts brought to light a large jar overflowing with
823 gold. In his great joy he went running to his companions to tell

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173 them of the coveted find; in their eagerness they all flew to the
823 lucky spot, and oh! supreme misfortune, the treasure had vanished. Minutes later, the powder flask exploded, killing several, mutilating others, and leaving only a few alive. The whites localize the Hipinjí legend in Tumbichukue.

487 /182/ The descent to the Kukiyú is effected along a
499 vertical ridge, following a path with innumerable zigzags, an

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372 cult of fire. In times past, fire was obtained with "steel and
773 tinder." Whatever the case may be, the mythical accounts

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372 disclose the usury of the owner of fire and anxiety when they were
773 on the verge of losing it. Nowadays, when through carelessness
[177] it goes out in a household, the matches of the whites are used to revive it.

513 The Indians go to bed early. At seven o'clock at night the
512 parents and the children lie down in a common bed on the dry hides of cattle, keeping on their bodies the clothes that covered

/198 cont./

273 take with him the "heart" of the aguardiente, thus reducing the
784 quantity and detracting from its quality, for it will be "cold

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273 and tasteless."

[784] The distillation is done on any day and at any hour; the tax collectors do not go this far; control of this kind has never been permitted, and anyone who dared to do it would risk his [186] life. Children drink this liquor from the age of three. Abstainers are inconceivable; "only Protestants do not drink," they conclude.

/202 cont./

415 chicha, and hands it to a person favored and respected by him;
554 the latter takes it, drinks from it, and returns the small gourd;
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415 then he is given the suilté. In turn, he fills the small gourd and
554 gives it to the man who presented it to him. Then he distributes
273 the chicha among all those present, beginning with the adults,

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533 are played by a large number of people, those playing the melody (flutes) are few and usually restricted to a few families.

291/534

533 The women do not play any musical instrument.

Secular singing is unknown; only religious songs are sung at the hours of prayer, the Mass, and the procession.

535 The dancing of the Calderas people is stylized and very similar to the Colombian bambuco. It is danced by mixed couples, separately or joined together. As a rule the dancers take on a certain air of gravity and concentration, and the onlookers follow their movements attentively. The woman always

[171]

4:Bernal Villa--40 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

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796 At about ten o'clock in the morning the special guests of the fiestero get ready to kill the beef. They are four. The

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[533] musicians intone the kula kui while other men begin to cut the long, dry pieces of wood into small fragments. Woodcutters, slaughterers, and musicians all begin their activities at once. The wood will serve to roast the maize griddlecakes.

[205] One of the slaughterers gathers the blood in a pan, while another one holds the head and tries to cover the eyes; he believes that if he does not do so, some other cow will attack him when he goes to catch it.

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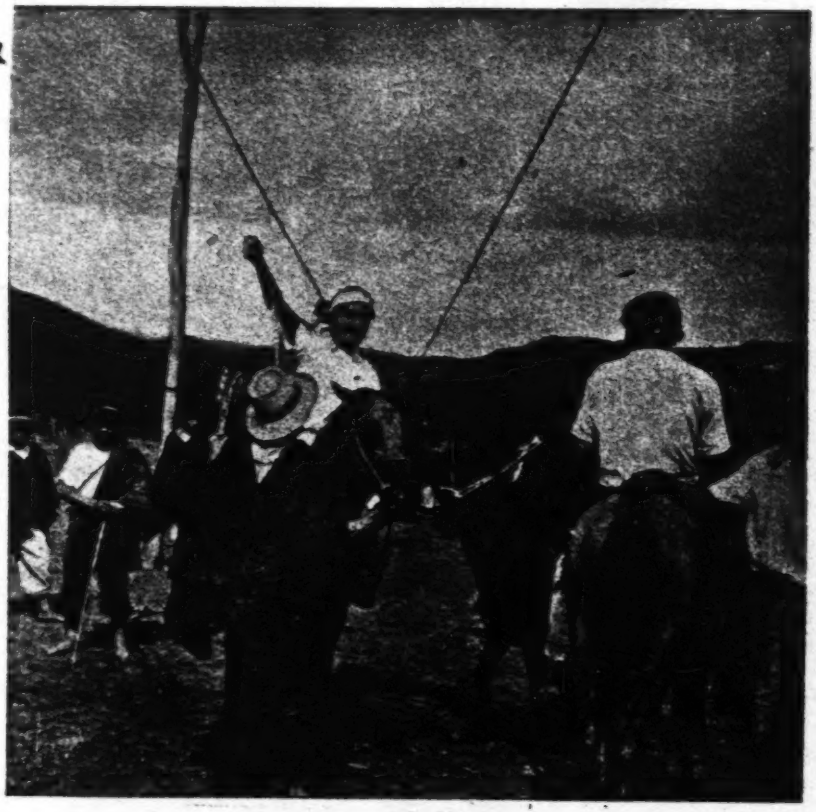

796 and in the same fashion. Abundant food and drink will be the
465 testimonial of his gratitude. They will also have the musicians
574 and dance. They will wake up in the morning, like those at
the fiesta, lying on the ground.

4:Bernal Villa--53 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

XXIV

The Race for the Rooster at Tumbichukue

103 The name of Tumbichukue is familiar to the colonists throughout Tierradentro. It is synonymous with fabulous treasures. In this place, it is said, the Paez buried all the gold and silver that they collected in the ill-fated settlement of Sebastián Quintero destroyed by them.

[131] Tumbi[illegible]ue is a pass /vereda/ formed by the eastern slopes of the páramo of San Lucas and located between the Kukiyú and the Yusayú gorge (Guacharaca). It belongs to the parcialidad of Lame, and the road that goes from San Andrés [491] to Lame passes precisely there. This road is well traveled, its people more accessible to the whites.

796 On June 24 the men race their horses along the road.
541 It is a custom of Indians and whites "to race on the day of San Juan." The whites say that those who do not race their horses on the day of San Juan get scabies. The small, husky horses pant under the demands of their drunken riders. A wild race and shouts in an unsteady voice: Viva San Juan!

The people of the pass go to a small square along the road, near which lives the capitán of Lame. Indians from
184 San Andrés come to watch the race for the rooster. On the
796 other hand, in spite of the nearness, no Calderun /person from
291 Calderas/ is seen there. The women who are seen are clean,
177 with neatly braided hair; they wear black skirts, navy-blue
301 rebozos, pink blouses, numerous multi-colored necklaces,
541 bright earrings, and cloth hats. The monotonous dark or black necklaces characteristic of Paez apparel are nearly absent among these people. The classic pindo hat worn by the [491] Calderas people is absent. Spanish is spoken more frequently.

796 All the riders are concentrating on the cage and the
541 roosters.

4:Bernal Villa--57 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/221 cont./

793 out the procession. The latter, reeling from chicha and lack
796 of sleep, arrived at the end of the Mass and learned of the
788 decision of the priest, who in addition advised them to save the gunpowder for the procession on the following day. They left. And although they did not march around the church and did not bear on their shoulders the image of the saint, they fired all the firecrackers, the skyrockets, and the fireworks castle to the strains of their native music. The procession was carried out symbolically.

796 The women and the men are dark in complexion and in
142 apparel. At these celebrations it is not unusual to see them
291 dressed in bright colors and brightly colored beads.
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/251 cont./

In any case, "the curers have something and are kind," said one informant. They are respected, and at entertainments they are attended to in the room where important people (síndico, capitán, gobernador, eminent old people) are received, and they are served on larger plates.

Prestige is an advantage of the curer. It is not unusual for the curer to command more devotion than the capitán of the Parcialidad.

All the curers claim to be happy in their profession, and many are grateful to their teacher for his instruction. The advantage of being a curer is to be waited on by people, to be singled out from among the others, and also to be pursued for his knowledge, says one Calderun curer. Everyone seeks him out as a good curer; many of them are regarded as priests, for people come daily to their homes to look for them. They have more power than other people.

The curer has a high social status by virtue of his functions. But for no reason other than these functions. He commands respect and recognition for services rendered. No one can treat him badly. If during a drinking bout he is offended in some way, on the following day they hasten to make amends.

/252/ Psychological characteristics of the Tẽ eu. The curers vary in age from 30 to 70 years old. As a rule, they have eyes deeply set in the orbital sockets, a penetrating gaze, a readiness to converse and laugh, a gentle manner, not at all aggressive; they are temperate and show much self-control and sureness in their movements.

A characteristic motor habit: seated on a very low log, they give the impression of squatting; their arms rest on their knees and with their hands they stroke their temples or chin. This motor habit is prevalent among Paez men.

Their clothing is typically Paez; they do not favor change, although they are friendly enough with whites. They always advise their patients hot to use the remedies of the whites or they will die.

[Mosoco]

/316/

105 Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco
178 and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has
[244] made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

[191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

[276] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful elements.

[262] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered con-
[264] siderably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

● [291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

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Tierradentro X: Indian woman of Mosoco "mambe-ing" /chewing coca and lime/ and weaving a kuetand yaha (pouch) for mambe). She is a té eu of the parcialidad.

6: Bernal Villa--105 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XI. Indian of Calderas, showing the typical manner of wearing the kuetand yaha and the yahas (fique pouches). In the background, the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro.

6: Bernal Villa--106 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XII: Two married couples from Calderas in the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro. The one on the right is a very young married couple.

6: Bernal Villa- 107 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro XIII: Gobernador of the parcialidad of San Andrés, with his staff of command and a machete at his belt.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

obliquely across the rocks; (3) an arched bridge of bamboo floored with spaced sticks, equipped with a hand rail on each side, and supported with stones, bamboo braces, and vines (pl. 185, *bottom, right*); and (4) a covered bridge with thatched roof, built of heavy logs supported by sticks and stones and floored with boards—a marvel of calculated strength, which, like the third type, is made entirely of vegetable materials yet can support loaded animals. To build an arched bridge, two groups of Indians approach opposite sides of the river and each plants a long, strong pole sloping out over the stream. The chief of each group then climbs out his pole until his weight bends it down to meet that from the opposite side, whereupon, clinging with one hand, they lash the ends together with creepers. This constitutes the main element of the bridge which is then completed by the other Indians.

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TRANSPORTATION

Some Indians now have horses and use them for traveling and for transporting large burdens, but, in general, transportation is by foot, objects being carried on the back or in netted sacks hung by a strap, especially when visiting markets. A woman carries not only a heavy load but her small child suspended on her back in a blue woolen blanket held with a broad woven band, or "chumbe." Peculiarly Andean is the custom that the man travels on horseback while the woman follows on foot with a large burden.

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DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Moguex* and *Páez* formerly wore only small cotton blankets (mantas), although most of them "went about naked even on the cold mountains" (Rodríguez, 1684, bk. 2, ch. 1). They painted their bodies with bixa, using, according to Del Castillo i Orozco, stamps to apply the color. The paint also protected them against the strong sunlight and insects. They went barefoot, as all the natives in Colombia. According to one chronicler, their hair was "shorn" (Robledo, *in* Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38). They wore breast and nose ornaments of pure gold or a gold and copper alloy, and necklaces of small figures, beads, small stones, and snails.

291 302 [751] [825] [291] 301

Soon after the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians commenced to use wide, long shirts of a very crude weave and hats which were so closely woven that they would hold water. The latter, which the Spaniards called "tacillas de Páez" (Páez bowls), are still in use. The Spanish encomenderos required that the Indians working on their haciendas near Popayán be dressed. This was the origin of the characteristic garment worn today, which combines the old small blanket (manta) with European dress. *Moguex* men wear short linen pants, and a blue flannel sash which covers them to their knees.

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?:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

●291 177 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with [293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of [415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Páez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When [292] traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash, [482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a [854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin. [292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Páez* and *Moguex* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven [462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who [292] prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road. Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of [824] leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

283 **Cordage.**—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique) is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

7Hernández de Alba E-6,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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[p. 942-A]

PLATE 185.—**Páez houses and bridge.** *Top (left):* Family dwelling with menstrual hut at left. San Andrés. *Bottom (right):* Páez Indians and house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Top (right):* Large communal fiesta house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left):* Suspension bridge, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

7:Hernández de Alba E-5½(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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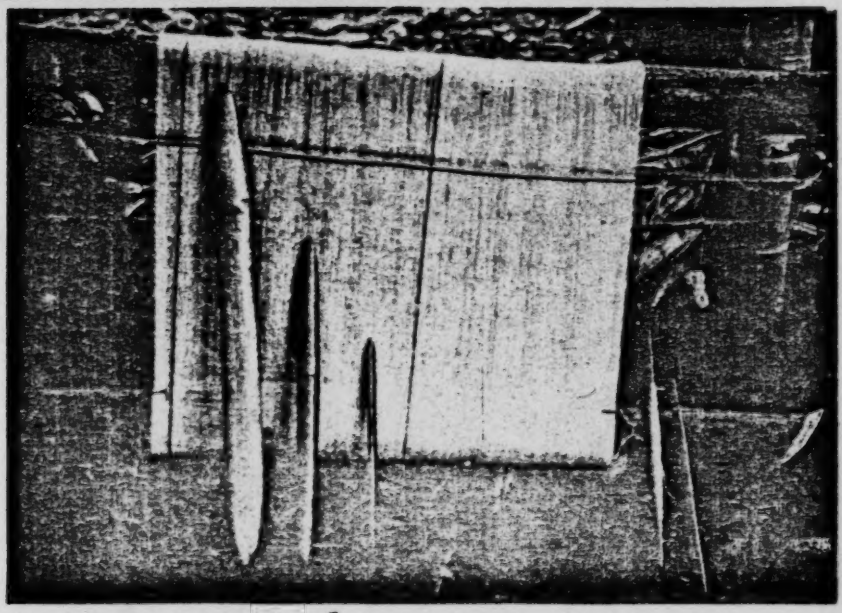

PLATE 186.—**Páez weaving.** *Top:* Woman weaving a woolen skirt. *Bottom:* Loom and weaving utensils. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942B]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5# (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 187.—**Páez weaving and spinning.** *Top:* Woman spinning wool while walking, San Andrés, Tierradentro. *Bottom:* Men weaving straw hats. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p.942c]

7oHernández de Alba E-5X(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez
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PLATE 188.—**Quillacinga musicians.** *Top:* Musicians and banner carrier at Siburdoy dressed for fiesta. *Bottom:* Musicians dressed in ordinary clothes. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

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[p. 942 -D]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/N(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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PLATE 190.—**Páez and Moguex Indians at the markets of Inzá, Tierradentro.** *Top: Páez* Indians buying coca. *Bottom: Moguex* Indians. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - F]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 191.—**Páez markets in Tierradentro.** *Top:* Market in Huila. *Bottom:* Selling chicha at San Andrés. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 G]

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[a. 942 - H)

PLATE 192.—**Páez types.** *Top (left):* *Páez* man, Tierradentro. *Top (right):* Woman with necklace and bags woven of wool and bast fibers, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left):* Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (center):* Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (right):* Man at Inzá, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

7:Hernández de Alba E-5(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex